1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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claim a cow on the marriage of a female child of his adultery. Even when the husband is not impotent, if the adulterer can show that there is fruit of his adultery he can claim back the cattle he has paid as an indemnity, except for a cow known as *yang kule*, the cow of the sleeping-skin, which has ritual significance. But adultery within a small local community is probably rare because the people are all related to one another, and therefore a man considers that not only would it be wrong to commit adultery with their wives but also that it would be, in a greater or lesser degree, incestuous. If the two men are close kinsmen the adulterer provides an ox for sacrifice but is unlikely to pay an indemnity. If they are not close kinsmen the husband may try to seize the adulterer's cattle, but he only takes this step if he actually catches the offender committing adultery. The adulterer, to avoid a fight, runs away, and if he fears that his cattle may be seized he places them in the kraals of friends and kinsmen. This makes it difficult for the husband to seize them, for even if he knows where they are he does not want to involve himself in quarrels with a number of his neighbours by raiding their kraals. Nuer do not consider it immoral to commit adultery with the wives of persons living in other villages. If the husband discovers the offence he may try to seize the offender's cattle, but in doing so he runs the risk of resistance and some one may get killed and a feud result. A herd is the joint property of brothers, even though it is divided among them, and they do not readily acquiesce in the loss of cattle on account of adultery. In my experience it is very seldom indeed that a man obtains compensation for adultery. Adultery with the wife of a man of another tribe is a matter of no importance. What can he do anyhow?

Likewise fornication with an unmarried girl is compensated by payment of a heifer and a steer. But it is most unlikely that the payment will be made. If the girl's kinsmen know that she is having relations with a man who possesses cattle and is likely to marry her they turn a blind eye to the affair. If he has no cattle, or if the girl is already engaged, and one of her brothers catches him in congress with her he fights him, unless, as usually happens, the man runs away, for it is not considered cowardly to run away in these circumstances. The girl's kinsmen may then come to his kraal and, if he possesses them, take a male calf and a female calf, and if they are strong enough they may not be resisted. This is what Nuer tell one, but I have never known any one pay a male and a female calf, although after every dance I have seen the youths and maidens have paired off and there has been much promiscuous intercourse and very little effort to conceal it. It frequently

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684 836 happens that a man impregnates an unmarried girl and he is then expected to marry her. The girl's kinsmen may raid his kraal and seize some of his cattle, but he will try to circumvent this by hiding his beasts in the kraals of relatives and neighbours. If later he marries the girl the cattle her kinsmen have seized count as part of the bride-wealth, and if he refuses to marry her they count as payment for possession of the child, so that in either case he pays no indemnity but only a fee to establish his rights. Here again, in point of fact, it is very difficult for the girl's brothers to seize the man's cattle, unless he is willing to let them do so, and there is always the risk of a fight which may become [835] general. One does not fornicate with the girls of one's own village, for they are generally related to one, so that when an issue of the kind arises it is generally between persons of different villages of the same district. If the young man can avoid being hit over the head with a club at the time of the incident and keeps clear of the girl's village for a few months he is not likely to pay an indemnity or to suffer any other consequences. If he has put the girl in child he will, in normal circumstances, send a kinsman to say that he intends to marry her. The girl is then regarded as engaged and the young man becomes son-in-law to her parents and one does not injure one's son-in-law. Even if he refuses to marry their sister, the brothers hesitate to attack the father of her child.

683 It is possible to obtain from Nuer a list of compensations for injuries to the person: e.g. ten cattle for a broken leg or skull, ten cattle for the loss of an eye, two cattle for a girl's broken teeth, &c. For a flesh wound, however serious, there is no compensation unless the man dies. In different parts of Nuerland the number of cattle to be paid in compensation varies. I have not recorded any instance of a man receiving such compensation, except from a Government court, but Nuer say that he would receive it if his kinsmen were strong enough to retaliate.

754 627 It is alleged that, in the old days, if a man died of magic his kinsmen would try to slay the magician (*gwan wal*), though I have not recorded a case of a magician having been killed. Nuer point out that a magician does not use his magic against persons in his own community but only against persons of other villages, so that it is not easy to revenge yourself on him since he will be supported by his village who regard powerful magic as of value to their community. It is also said that in the old days a witch (*peth*) was sometimes slain, though I cannot say how often, if at all, this occurred.

583 627 Many disputes arise about bride-wealth: the husband's people do not pay what they have promised or there is a divorce and the

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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MARRIAGE

Intercourse does not necessarily take place when a youth and maid are alone together on the night of a dance. When the relationship between them is a *luom buol*, a dance love affair, or *luom thura*, a dancing-ground love affair, a more or less constant attachment, and not a *luom goka*, a love affair of the high grasses, casual lust, I was told that the girl is likely to refuse her favours, though he will entreat for them, unless she feels sure that he intends to marry her and has the cattle with which to do so, for no respectable girl wants to be a *keagh*, an unmarried mother. No attempt is made to conceal an attachment of this kind, which indeed imposes on the girl modesty and shyness towards her lover in the presence of other persons such as a bride is expected to show towards her bridegroom or a newly-wed towards her husband.

Parents are not cognizant of all the love affairs of their children, but if a girl forms a constant attachment she may tell her mother about it, and a father will probably hear of a similar attachment of his son. They are not likely to say anything unless there is danger of incest. All the young men of a hamlet or small village, who are kinsmen and dance together, know of one another's courtships and escapades. Likewise, all the girls know about one another's lovers and amours, for they also keep together at dances. The only person who may interfere is a brother in an affair of his sister, for her virtue is his responsibility, but he will only do so in certain circumstances. He keeps an eye on his sister and knows who is courting her, but he will only come between her and her lover if he suspects that she is having regular relations with a man without cattle or that she is giving herself to all and sundry.

It not infrequently happens that a girl becomes pregnant while still unmarried. If the young man has cattle he will be expected to marry her, and if she is not a profligate he will be glad to do so. If he has insufficient cattle he cannot do so, and though another man will not object to taking her as a wife, he is more likely to take her as a second wife than as a first wife, and he will pay fewer cattle for her bridewealth. It is therefore in the brother's interest to see that this does not happen. It is also in his interest to prevent his sister from becoming a wanton. A man does not expect his bride to be a virgin, but he does not care to marry a jade. A girl of easy virtue may find plenty of lovers but no suitors, and after bearing an illegitimate child is likely to become a concubine for the rest of her life, to the detriment of her family herd.

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836 883 Therefore, if a youth takes a girl away from a dance to his *dep* and sits with her among his friends and other girls until he finds an opportunity to get her to himself he will not be molested, because her brother has seen her leave the dance in company, and by the time she is intimate with her lover he will be doing the same himself. But if a man is indiscreet enough to take her off by herself as soon as the dance is breaking up he is asking for trouble, though the brother may not say anything if the youth is a friend of his whom he knows to have cattle and serious intentions towards his sister. If the young man is a casual lover he may tap him on the shoulder with the butt of his spear, when he will run away; or even fight him. However, there need be no trouble if the conventions are observed.

Courtship seems to be freest among the Eastern Jikany. There love affairs are carried on more or less openly, and a youth need not fear the girl's brother so long as they are on friendly terms and he is discreet. The girls of this area are, however, said to be less free with their favours than those of the Lou tribe. They are exacting in their demands for fine speeches, but will not allow intimacy unless they are sure that pregnancy will be followed by marriage. The Lou girls are said to be easier and their brothers more difficult. To the west of the Nile, at any rate in some parts, it is said that a girl's brother has the right to take a male calf and a cow calf if he catches a man having relations with his sister, but this penalty seems only to be exacted when it is believed that pregnancy has ensued, and I was told that if the beasts have been seized they will be returned should it be found that she had not conceived. If she is pregnant, they will be kept pending marriage negotiations.

584 A youth may have several sweethearts in different villages and a girl several lovers in different villages. At this time of his life a young man models himself on the accepted pattern of what a young man should be to win the approbation of his sweethearts and the regard of girls generally. He likes to know that they are looking at him and saying about him, when they chat together and share their secrets, that he is a *wut pany*, a real man. He pays great attention to his appearance and takes every opportunity to excel in feats of endurance and courage. It is for the benefit of the girls that he leaps behind his oxen in dry-season camps, 'when the people have met together', and chants poems. When asked whether

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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a man would chant if there were no girls near, a Nuer replied: 'And if there were no girls near, what would he chant for?' A youth who wants a girl in marriage goes to her village or camp in the evening and chants there for an hour or two. He knows that she will understand that the poem is about herself. Her relatives know why he has come. 584

A youth is particularly careful not to be seen eating by unrelated girls: 'If he is not making love to them, he may do so some time or to one of their relatives.' When I asked whether it would matter if your sisters saw you eating, the reply was, 'Do you make love to your sisters?' Food must never be mentioned in the presence of girls, and a man will endure severe hunger rather than let them know that he has not eaten for a long time. It is a strict rule of Nuer society that the sexes, unless they are close kin, avoid each other in the matter of food. Nuer do not go near persons of the other sex when they are eating. A man may mention food but not sexual matters before kinswomen, and he may mention sexual matters but not food before unrelated girls. 264 834

Girls are the arbiters of decorum, and the severest sanction of a breach of good form is their disapproval. Not only is the shame of it a sanction for etiquette, but it is a powerful influence in making a youth generous, respectful to his elders, dutiful to his parents and kinsmen, hospitable to guests, industrious, and brave. The girls on their side are anxious to earn the good opinion of youths by correct behaviour in the home and in society. 562 576 584

It will have been observed that it rests entirely with a girl whether she accepts a man's attentions and how far he presses his advances. A girl who is fond of a youth wants him to marry her. If he is philandering she will, if she has any regard for her chastity, be frugal with her favours. The talk between a youth and his sweetheart is frequently the topic of marriage. He asks her whether she will marry him, and she says that she will if he has cattle and her parents consent; or he entreats her to allow intimacy, and she urges that she might become pregnant and he not marry her, and she would then be in trouble. However, if a girl is in love with a youth, and he has a winning manner, she may surrender to his pleading. Men often break the promises they make to girls when they want favours from them, and in looking for a wife a man may pass over all his sweethearts, past and present, and go with his friends to seek a spouse outside the circle of his usual acquaintances. 584 836

divides them with a sheep.' The widow and the man who is taking his kinsman's place squat inside a hut and the *gwan buthni* of the dead husband's (in the case of the maternal uncle's widow, of the maternal uncle's) lineage, the man who performs sacrifices for the lineage, squats outside. They hold between them a sheep stretched across the threshold and it is there cut in twain. The top half is eaten by the kinsmen of the man who is taking the widow, though he does not himself partake of its flesh, and the bottom half by the women of the household. The hide on which the widow and her dead husband slept is also cut in half and the skin of the sacrificed sheep may be sewn to another to provide a new sleeping-hide. 'The father (or brother, or maternal uncle) is removed', as the Nuer say, not so much, if at all, because there would be any danger of *rual* but in order to be rid of any evil the dead man might have had in his heart towards the man who is taking his wife, which might injure her or her children. A twin may not take his brother's widow, for twins are one person. If a living father or brother gives up a wife to his son or brother, as occasionally happens, a similar sacrifice has to be made, but here the notion of *rual* is more pronounced.

The prohibition on a man having relations with a kinsman's wife is part of a more general regulation which forbids, as *rual*, two close kinsmen to have relations with the same woman, though, here again, 'bulls' do not come, altogether or to some extent, under the ban. Likewise, two closely related women must not have relations with the same man. Nuer youths, who make love to maidens very freely, are careful to inquire of a girl, if they are uncertain of her affairs, whether she has a sweetheart among their close kinsmen. A man may, however, start an affair with a girl as soon as a kinsman has broken off relations with her. This rule, which refers to courtship and sweethearts rather than to casual intercourse, applies to father and son, uterine brothers, and to a lesser degree paternal half-brothers, and also in some degree to cousins, except to paternal parallel cousins, for they are 'bulls' and it does not matter if they share sweethearts. The prohibition is, however, only forcibly enunciated with regard to kinsfolk who form the same *dep*, dancing-line, which means kinsmen who are also members of the same village. Hence it is said that it is not very dangerous for a man and his mother's brother's son to make love to the same girl if

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
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562 584 dislikes simply because they are avaricious for the many cattle he possesses or wish to link themselves to some important family. More often control is exercised in the form of a prohibition rather than positive compulsion. In other words, although they will not use force to compel her to marry a man she detests, they will not allow her to marry the man she loves if he has not sufficient cattle to provide the bridewealth. Whether or not they will take this attitude depends on a variety of circumstances. Some Nuer girls are headstrong and of independent spirit and will not allow their wills to be thwarted by the conventions of the bridewealth system. They therefore live as they please with lovers of their own choice and without either the sanction of bridewealth or the ritual processes of marriage which go with it.[1] A woman of this sort is known in Nuer as *ciek me keagh*. The circumstances in which a woman becomes a *ciek me keagh* are many. Any woman who lives with a man without payment of bridewealth (either on his own behalf or on behalf of the man who is considered her legal husband) is called *keagh*, but she may not be of the restless independent spirit which characterizes most of these women. She may be a young girl who has borne a child to a man who refuses to marry her, though this is rare, or a woman who simply cannot stand life with the husband of her family's choice and has therefore run away and provoked a divorce.

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Women who are *keagh* are not regarded as immoral in our sense of the word in these circumstances, but their families are naturally often exasperated by their behaviour and disappointed that no bridewealth cattle have been paid for them. Their social position as unmarried concubines is not generally so high as that of married women, but no distinction is made in the every-day behaviour of their neighbours towards them. The basic difference between widow-concubines and unmarried concubines is that in the former case bridewealth has been paid, even though it has not been paid by the man with whom they live and by whom they produce children. In the latter case bridewealth has not been paid at all or has been returned in divorce.

3. NOTE ON THE RULES OF EXOGAMY AND INCEST

582 684 835 An account of Nuer marriage laws would not be complete without mention of the laws of exogamy. It must be stated at once, however, that breaches of the rules of exogamy and incestuous extra-marital intercourse are not generally the subject of dispute or of litigation in the courts. Both parties are equally guilty, there is no question of compensation, and the spiritual contamination which is considered to follow incest (*rual*) and which is manifested in physical disorders

[1] For this reason Nuer do not go to extreme lengths of compulsion for, if the girl runs away, they will lose the chance of getting any cattle at all.

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
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whether the marriage is a simple legal union, 'ghost-marriage', leviratic union, or 'widow-concubinage'. Hence the term *dhu ciek* usually implies a violation of marriage rights and closely approximates to the European concept of adultery. We have already seen that, if the wrongdoer can prove that his mistress is not legally married to the man who claims to be her husband, no action for adultery lies. The woman in such circumstances is *ciek me keagh*; she is *ciek*, having the status of a married woman, but she is *keagh*, unmarried. This does not necessarily imply any feeling of disrespect, for the expression is sometimes used of a woman who has not yet completed the full processes of legal marriage with her husband, or sometimes of a woman who has been married and divorced and awaits remarriage of a respectable nature. *Keagh*, however, has a wide range of meaning and, used contemptuously, implies that the woman is wanton and self-willed and that, if she is not legally married, she ought to be. In all these circumstances it is her family who have rights in her, and legally it is for them to claim damages for any infringement of those rights. They rarely do so and, if they did, would be unlikely to receive the support of a Nuer court.

Such women often cohabit with men on a reasonably stable basis, and the union sometimes has the appearance of legality. This is particularly so in detribalized communities to which women of this temperament tend to go, and there are sometimes disputes which appear before the courts. It is noticeable that, although a Nuer court will never award compensation to the man who claims to be husband (*cos*) of the woman, nor, indeed, to her family, they will often punish the offender. Penal sanctions are being applied to offences which must have been comparatively rare in the past and for which there is no traditional remedy.

The Seduction of Unmarried Girls: dhu nyal

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The seduction of a young girl (*nyal*) is considered a wrong. Nuer will say it is a great wrong, a *duer medit*, but what they imply is that a girl who gains the reputation of offering herself indiscriminately to any young man will not be approached with genuine offers of marriage. She will be a *nyal me jok*, a 'bitch'.[1] Such girls, once they have gained

[1] This expression is as disrespectful and rude as it would be in our own language, and is not used openly. I recall a girl of this sort in Thiang country who appeared regularly at dances in company with girls obviously much younger than herself. She appeared to me to be attractive, and I asked some youths of my acquaintance whether they did not think so. They replied that she was extremely attractive, a statement which was followed by a good deal of chaffing and laughter on the part of their fellows. Subsequently I was told by one of my followers that she was considered *jok*, and although older men were much attracted to her, none of them wished to marry her, and the young men left her alone because to have relations with her was regarded as slightly ridiculous and they feared the scorn of other girls. The girl eventually took up with an Arab merchant. See example, *Cany Tut* v. *Dar Jal* (p. 172).

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
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an unsavoury reputation, may have to wait for a long time for marriage and are also *jut* (which is merely an unmarried girl beyond the age at which girls are usually expected to marry), and when a serious suitor does come along, he will do so because her family are likely to ask less cattle for her than is usual. She is likely to marry a poor man if she marries at all.

Illicit sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl is therefore a wrong in itself, but it is the effects that public knowledge of her wantonness will have on her reputation which are regarded as important. Technically a girl (*nyal*) is supposed to be a virgin, but by the time she reaches the stage of marriage this is unlikely to be a fact. Her family do not necessarily object on any moral principles. Their attitude is a reflection of their real desire to see her properly married so that they may acquire cattle for their own marriages, and they do not tolerate any attention from an outsider which is likely to compromise her chances of making a suitable match with a man who has cattle. A young man with no cattle who pays marked attention to a girl will be warned off by her brothers. But unless her chances are lessened by a reputation for promiscuity in the choice and number of her lovers her family are unlikely to take action, and a complaint on their part will rarely be recognized in a Nuer court. Nuer say, however, that *dhu nyal* is an offence which may require the payment of compensation (*ruok nyal*), and by this they mean that if a complaint is made by a girl's family, and there is proof that they have suffered an injury or potential loss, compensation should be paid to them.

Dhu nyal cieng and *Dhu nyal dhor*

Nuer also make the distinction between what they call *dhu nyal dhor*, 'fornication with an unmarried girl outside (or in the bush)' and *dhu nyal cieng*, 'fornication with an unmarried girl in the home'. The terms are not very clear, since *dhu nyal cieng* is often used to describe cases of elopement—i.e. when the girl has been taken from her home. The former offence, *dhu nyal dhor*, is considered much less serious, and refers largely to casual encounters at dances held by the young people.

Elopement and Abduction: kwil nyal

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It is considered a much more serious offence if a man entices an unmarried girl away from her family and persuades her to live with him. Whether a child is born of the union or not, a Nuer court will take action against the wrongdoer and compel him to marry the girl or pay compensation which will not be returned even if the girl is subsequently married to another man. To seduce a girl, persuade her to take up residence away from her home, so that she appears to be

9:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1936 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

He will respect his elders but they will treat him as a man and with the consideration due to an equal rather than to an inferior.[1]

He has now the supreme joy, to which every Nuer boy looks forward with longing, of entering into the full life of the cattle. He will wander with them over their dry season pastures and will have his own bullock, perhaps more than one, to meet when it returns to camp in the evening, strutting along and waving the long tassel attached to its horns as it tosses its head. He will rub its back with ashes in the evening and perhaps invoke the spirit of his lineage or his dead ancestors as he does so. He may now order a boy to lead his bullock round the camp at morning or evening so that he can leap behind it in the sight of the girls, and may walk among the cattle at night ringing a cattle bell and singing about his cattle, his relatives, and his loves, activities which would be mere presumption in a boy, who would not indeed attempt them.

The elation, the feeling of happy superiority, which accompany this change in a boy's life are evident in his behaviour, and their opposites are strikingly shown in the cases of boys who for some reason have not been initiated at the same time as their contemporaries and playmates. The position of such a boy is pathetic. His friends have been promoted and he is left behind. They are men and he is still a boy. Once his equals they have become his superiors. I knew well one boy in this humiliating position and it was painful to observe how acutely he felt it on occasions. He evidently felt shame at the performance of his boys' duties and tried to associate as much as possible with his initiated companions, with whom he had everything in common, rather than with the smaller boys with whom he was socially identified. I think that his friends tried to spare him humiliation as far as they could by treating him as one of themselves though his work and play were of necessity different from theirs. On one occasion a man of about 16 years of age was beating the boys for neglecting their work and idling around my tent, but when he came to this boy of the same age as himself he raised his hand to strike him and said : " And you ! what are you doing here ? " but he smiled and did not strike him.

After initiation also a boy may give himself over to the absorbing interests of love-making. He may now dance and flirt (*lum*) and indulge

[1] We must not exaggerate this equality. Elder men will still call an initiated person who is young enough to be their child *dhol*, boy, and will order him to fetch them things they require. I have on dozens of occasions witnessed it. But the difference lies between doing a favour to an elder man who speaks to you as his son and being ordered about like a servant by a superior.

9:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1936 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

836 883 in sexual relations with girls. Before initiation boys may go to dances but they merely watch and do not take part in them After initiation they go with the other youths of the village and form part of the dancing group of their lineage (*dep*). When the dancing is over they seize the hands of the girls and sit and flirt with them. A boy will now commence permanent love affairs with girls, and a girl will be recognised by his friends as his love (*lumde*). No uninitiated boy would stand a chance of having a relationship of this kind with a girl, however large he might be, as she would merely laugh at him and call him a boy and tell him to go and become initiated. It is true that boys before initiation will have congress with small girls, but this is not socially recognised, and if his elders hear of it they will tell him not to be a fool as he is only a boy, but after initiation it is not only none of their business what he does, but also he is expected, nay, compelled, by custom to embark upon courtship.

411 884 421 An initiated boy is now invested with two external signs of manhood besides the scars on his forehead. He is given a spear by his father and also a bullock, which he had generally been promised before the operation If he is lucky he will also get a bullock from a maternal or paternal uncle. A boy will seldom possess a spear of his own and if he carries one he will almost certainly be found to have borrowed it from a relative though he may become the owner of a fishing spear. The possession of a spear is a sign of manhood and it is an object of great pride. One is surprised at the real feeling a Nuer expresses for his spear, almost as though it were animate and not a mere weapon. He is never tired of sharpening and polishing it. It is always in his hand, not only when fighting, hunting and travelling, but also when dancing, leaping behind his bullocks, playing with his comrades, and even when he lays it down it is never far from his side. As the Nuer possess no knives a man's spear does service not only on those occasions when Africans generally make use of it, but on those occasions when other peoples use a knife, for culinary purposes, cutting leather in tether making, cutting ox's hide for a bed-rug, and other purposes.

233 554 553 421 A boy is even prouder when he becomes the owner of a bullock and is invested with a bullock name. Even a small boy will speak of his father's bullocks as " our bullocks," and will often regard one of them, the calf of the cow he habitually milks, as his own special one. But it is only his in the general psychological sense of family communism. It

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
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They have a definite code, just as strict as any we may devise, but the emphasis is placed in entirely different places.

The Nuer does not live to himself. He is a member of his family, and his actions must be in accord with Nuer law as recognized by them. For should he trangress, he is sure to need their help.

Laws regarding sexual relations are decidedly lax according to our western standards. Many young men do not marry the mothers of their firstborn. Illicit relationship may exist between boys and girls. But when a girl reaches marriageable age she is usually under closer surveillance than before.

When a girl for whom part of the wedding price has been paid by a man whom she does not wish to marry, is dissatisfied with the arrangement made by her people because she cares for some more desirable and possibly younger man, there is only one way for her to cancel her engagement and thus free herself in order to marry the man of her choice. And this way is fraught with danger which may threaten for some time.

She will bear a child for the man she loves, and when her condition becomes known, her engagement to the man of her father's and brother's choice is automatically cancelled. Then for a time there is trouble. Her first lover wants his payment refunded at once. Her family want the marriage price from the man of her choice at once. Very probably he has not got it, so he takes the best way out of the situation (for him) and flees to some distant village, where he has friends or relatives, until the anger of the girl's people cools a little and they are more inclined to listen to him.

This is one of the times when he is thankful that he may depend upon his family and friends to help him out. They may or may not approve of his conduct, but they

16: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1956
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

through adoption, and close affinity. It is also incestuous for a man to have carnal relations with the daughter of an age-mate and for two closely related persons of the same sex to have congress with a person of the opposite sex, even though that person is unrelated to them. A further reason is that Nuer regard incest as a venial offence if the partners are distantly related, and young men certainly often take the slight risk involved. It is easier to understand why incest outside the family and nearest kin is not infrequent if we consider it also in a general setting of sex relations. Nuer do not object to girls having love affairs before marriage so long as they are reasonably discreet in them and give their favours to youths with cattle, who may at least be supposed to have what we call honourable intentions; and little opprobrium attaches to adultery, of which they speak light-heartedly and without disgust or shame.

Nevertheless, adultery (*dhom*), besides being a wrong done to the husband by infringement of his rights, is a further wrong to him in that he is polluted. A husband who discovers his wife *in flagrante delicto* may obtain summary justice by spear or club. Otherwise he demands compensation in cattle, and if the two men are members of the same local community he is likely to receive it. In addition to the cattle paid in compensation, the adulterer hands over to the husband an ox called *yang kula*, the ox of the (husband's) sleeping-hide. This is paid to protect the husband from the consequences of the adultery, known as *kor*, a concept of which one also hears much in Nuerland. *Kor* is a condition brought about by a man having congress with his wife after she has been unfaithful to him. All three persons are polluted, but if sickness results it falls on the husband, and it is most likely to fall on him if the adultery took place in his home. This sickness is also called *kor*, though it may be referred to as well as *juei kula*, sickness of the hide, or, on account of its symptoms, *juei letka*, sickness of the loins. I was told that it may prove fatal, though Miss Soule says that it is myalgia of the lumbar region. Nuer told me that they learnt about *kor*, as they learnt about so many of the ideas discussed in this book, from the Dinka and that it was also from that people that they took over a preventive and curative treatment of it, *wal kore*, *kor* medicine, the tip of a buffalo's horn which is burnt, and its smoke inhaled. Their statement that the concept is a Dinka one is supported, among other evidences, by